1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 84.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

---

[96] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101] Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105] *Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109] Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110] Trowbridge MS.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 783 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1913, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Nanticoke NM11

D
1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N
1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D
626 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor re-
181 straint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D
361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women,
D
439 who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in
D
682 drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one
672 harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

766 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies ob-
648 served when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgünk to renew their alliance with

Death

761 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long, in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

755

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113).. The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

758

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead
765 man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the
[765] relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When
151 now the savage is thus buried the savages do not
784 wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaner hängiandes.* *Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

Yale
1755
557

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
* = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	*+
180. By unrelated persons		−			(+)	·	+	·	+	−	+	*+
181. Kept ___ nights before burial		§	§	(1)	1	1	1	*1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		*−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth ___ feet						3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				−	−	·	+	·	−	−	−	−
188. Cremation					−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		−	§	−	−	−	−	−	−
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						·	·	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for ___ months	3-12	12	*12	12		*	*9	9	*12	*12	12	*
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		*−		+			+		+	+	+	+
196. Wears black	+	+					−	+	·	−	·	−
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	·	+		+		+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		•	+	·	·	+	§	*+
200. Visits grave ___ nights				365	21	6-7	6	*	3	4	· 9	4
201. Visits grave ___ dawns				365		−	6		−	−	−	−

202.	Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90-365				•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4		
203.	Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	−	−	+		
204.	Die in full possession of faculties (generally)						−	+	+	+	•	+		
205.	Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	S	+		
206.*	Believe bodies will be restored						+	*+	*+	−	−	−		
207.	Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				−			•	+	+	+	+		
208.	to others †				+	+	+	•		+		+		
Lineage														
209.	Nation divided into ___ tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3	
210.	Division for purposes of government				−		+	+	−	+		+	−	
211.	On religious grounds				−		•	•	+•	−			−	
212.	Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+•			•	
213.	Tribes are exogamous				+	+				•				
214.	Tribes are endogamous										+			
215.	Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+	
Chiefs														
216.	Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	−	*+	−	−	*(+)	−	
217.	Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−	
218.	Brother first choice		−		−		+		+	−	−	(+)	−	
219.	Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+		+		+	−	−	(+)	−	
220.	Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
221.	Election of civil chief		+	−	+		+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	
222.	By people		+		−		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	
223.	By counselors				*+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
224.	Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	?		−	−	
225.	Can be removed				+		+	*+	+	+	−	+	+	
226.	Chief names successor			−					+	+	−	+	•	
227.	Can dismiss successor								+	+	−			
228.	Any particular age at succession †						−		+	+	+	+	−	
229.	Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
230.	Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
231.	Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1	1	
232.	Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	
233.	Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
234.	Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
235.	War chief hereditary				−								−	
236.	War chief elected				−			+					+	

765
761
775
768
614
582
611
643

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were
[768] required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 Theoretically there should be a connection between the ele-
775 ments dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the
[774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

10. Eclipses

JOHN JOHNSTON—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come. 821

CAPTAIN PIPE—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief. 787 776 765

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

JOHN JOHNSTON—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls. 821 787 824

CAPTAIN PIPE—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge. 577

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [776] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of 765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

769
fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the 765
deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764
they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776]
the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out [illegible] her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death. During this time the relatives and others played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East. Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps, not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this circuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long, so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as relict for four-day period.

764 767 [525] 765

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

764 782

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

764

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each [782] throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and [589] told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the bones cleaned and placed on a shelf on a rack where they were 765
allowed to decay, with no further attention being paid to them.

194. Mourning

LINDESTRÖM said that after the racking of the bones (see under 189) there was a further period of fourteen days of mourning, making the total at least forty-eight days and perhaps longer.

JOHN JOHNSTON—No particular length of time (for mourning).

CAPTAIN PIPE said that widow or widower observed mourning for nine months but practiced elements listed on the table as 195 to 197 inclusive, only during twelve days.

CAPTAIN PIPE, W. T. and E. R. See verbatim accounts given above, pp. 111-14, 116-18.

W. L.—Some terminated the mourning on the fourth day and others on the eleventh or twelfth day. Widow can marry then if she wishes.

195. Widows hair long and unkempt

VAN DER DONCK said that in certain cases the women shaved off their hair when their husbands died.

198. Widows and widowers do not remarry

W. T.—See account given at beginning of this section, p. 117.

199. Termination of mourning

JOHN JOHNSTON—They are affected in the same manner as the whites and their grief wears off by degrees.

W. L.—Widow is attended by some one of the relatives of the deceased up to the fourth, eleventh, or twelfth day and is then washed, dressed in new clothes and turned loose.

200. Visiting of grave.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said that visits to the graves of deceased [769]
friends were frequent and that prayers were made for the salvation of souls of the deceased, but did not say how long they continued.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

202. Relatives observe mourning

765 JOHN JOHNSTON—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 CAPTAIN PIPE said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

LINEAGE

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, CAPTAIN CHIPPS appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Scàh-ti-co*.

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.